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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY 25X1 REPORT

INFORMATION REPORT

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IS DOCUMENT'CONTAINS INFORMATION AFFECTING THE NATIONAL THE UNITED STATES WITHIN THE MEANING OF THE ESPIONAGE S. C., 31 AND 32. AS AMENDED. ITS TRANSMISSION OR THE REINITED ON THE AND THE STAND TH

STATE ARMY

THIS IS UNEVALUATED INFORMATION

- The 16 Russian under organizations described below are all anti-Communist in their 25X11. political orientation. However, many Communist agents have penetrated these organizations. The strongest group of the 16 18 SBOAR (see 2(m)). This organization is very careful in selecting its members. If it has been infiltrated, I believe the agents are known and are watched.
 - The available information on the 16 emigre organizations is as follows:
 - (a) GENERAL RUSSIAN MILITARY UNION (ROVS) was originated in Belgrade in 1923 at a convention of officers exiled from Russia. Gen Wrangel was elected president. Head office was established in Paris. Succeeding General Wrangel as president was General Kutepoff (General Kutepoff was kidnapped by the USSR in Paris). Kutepoff's place was taken by General Miler, who also was killed by the USSR. The present leader of this organization is General Archangelski. The office was moved from Paris to Belgium for security reasons. ROVS is a very large organization and has branches all over the world, outside of the countries which are under Communist domination. Many of these branches are operated under other names. In the US, they have adopted the name of "Russian Veterans". Major-General Anton V Bordzilovsky is president of the New York Chapter of the World Association of Russian Veterans, 607 West 137th Street, New York 31, New York. Col D D Gnedich is President of Russian War Veterans Inc., 1035 Sacket Avenue, New York 61, New York. Lt-Gen Wladimir K Witkowsky is president of the World Association of Russian Veterans, North American Division, 258 West 97th Street, New York 25, New York. In Los Angeles, California, the President is Colonel Neklutin, Russian Veterans Society of Los Angeles, 816 North Normandie. ROVS' membership consists of almost every military man who was in the White Army and was exiled following the Revolution in Russia. It is a very powerful organization. The majority of the members are over 57 years of age.
 - (b) SUPREME MONARCHIST COUNCIL (UNION) (VMS) was originated in 1925 in Munich, Germany. The president is Skorgenski. VMS propogandizes for the monarchy, but so far has not presented a candidate. Membership does not exceed 200, and all of these are old people.



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WELL TO A SECOND TO THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPER

- (c) NATIONAL UNION OF LABOR, also known as RUSSIAN SOLUARISMS (NTS), was originated 5 June 1924 in Pernen, Bulgaria. The principal idea was to unite youngsters with national and anti-Communist feelings. On 6 September 1929, a headquarters was established in Belgrade, Yugoslavia under the leadership of B N Baidalakoff (Mr Baidalakoff at present lives in New Jersey and New York). This organization is wide-spread in small groups all over the world. It also has many underground members inside the USSR. From 1929 up to World War II, it had very well organized communications with the underground organization in the USSR. Quite a few members were executed in the USSR. During World War II, many joined the RUSSIAN LIBERATION ARMY (ROA). This organization was under the leadership of Gen Viassov. It is extremely strong and widely known. Its specific goal is freeing the Russian people from the present Communist domination.
- (d) RUSSIAN IMPERIAL UNION (RIS) is under N K Globatcheff whose title is president of the Russian Empire Union, 1580 Amsterdam Avenue, New York 31, New York. This organization is very small and is not important. It is similar to the VMS (see 2 (b)).
- (e) There is also a LEGITIMATE MONARCHIST MOVEMENT or UNION whose chief is General Ivitsky in New York. The general's representative in Los Angeles is Mr Blagoi, whose alias is Mr Tork. This organization is of little importance.
- (f) Major-General Ivitsky also is President of CURPS OF THE IMPERIAL RUSSIAN ARMY AND FLEET, 209 West 109 Street, New York 25, New York.
 - (g) RUSSIAN PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT (RNS) is perhaps the same as the RUSSIAN PEOPLE'S CENTER, President E L Kukush, 545 West 142 Street, New York 31, New York.
 - (h) RUSSIAN LIBERATION ARMY (ROA) was under the leadership of General Vlassov, with headquarters in Munich. For details about this very powerful organization, refer to LIVE Magazine article, 19 December 1949, by Wallace Carroll. Gen Vlassov, by agreement of the US and the USER, was given up to the USSR. ROA at present is under the leadership of Colonal who recently escaped from the USSR. He and the organization are The Berlin. ROA lideology, and followers still are strong. There are many followers all over the world, including underground in the USSR.
 - (i) RUSSIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT (ROD), I believe, is under the leadership of Kerensky of the exiled Government of Russia. I have no further information.
 - (j) UNION OF ST ANDREW'S FIAG (SAF) originated shortly after the occupation of Germany under the leadership of Gen Glazenap. Headquarters is Munich. Until 1949, this organization subscribed to ROA idnals, but due to intrigue of Kemensky's organization, many members were lost. However, this organization is still very strong and it is believed the members who left this organization will return when the proper time arrives.
 - (k) ALL-COSSACK ANTI-COMMUNIST EMIGRANTS ALLIANCE (VAZOF) is composed of a great majority of Cossacks, who are under the leadership of Ataman Naymenko. They are split into small organizations and all these units use different names. There follow a few names of Cossack leaders, who could give further details. P I Medvedeff, Ataman, who is head of the Don Cossacks of New York, 34-27-64th Street, Woodside N I; Dr Ribo, Ataman of Cossacks, 1718 Hillhurst Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

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1)	ALL-RUSSIAN NATIONAL SOVEREIGN MOVEMENT (RONDO) is, presidency of Serge Belosselsky-Belosersky, 51 East		
	35, New York. He is also the resident of the RUSSI CENTER.		

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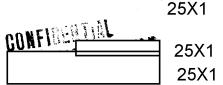
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(m) UNION OF THE STRUGGLE FOR THE LIBERATION OF PEOPLES OF RUSSIA (SBONR) has its headquarters in Germany. It is under the leadership of Colonel who took the place of Gen Yinggov and united with the following organizations NTS, ROA, SAF and with General Naymenko (see 2 (k)). This organization is very strong and, at present, is active. The result of this activity is, I believe, known to the US Government. There are a great number of the followers of this organization in the US. They form a closely knit unit and all wish to liberate Russia. After liberation, they want the Russian people to choose their own leaders through free elections. This organization is tops. It has its own propaganda set-up, and its own system of communication to the underground organization of the USSR, and many other facilities.

25X1 (n) UNION OF FIGHTERS OF RUSSIA no information on this.

- (o) CADETS' UNION (KADETSKOE OBEDENIE) is under the leadership of Colonel P V Danelchenko, 644 Riverside Drive, New York 31, New York. A very nice social organization, it has no significance.
- (p) RUSSIAN WAR INVALIDS (FIRST WORLD WAR) is under the leadership of General Kalneski, Paris. In the US, the chief is Gen I Elschin, Seattle, Washington. Also very recently, there has been a branch in the city of Los Angeles, attached to the HUMANITY CALLS organization. Head of "Invalidation branch is General Skipetroff. This organization is a very small minority."

- end



RUSSIAN ANTI-COMMUNIST CENTER

51 East 121 str. New York 35, N. Y. Telephone: TRafalgar 6-3774

New York, March 28-th 1950.

Five years after the end of World War II the civilized world is still living under the threat of aggression — an aggression which confronts all democratic countries and our democratic way of life.

Because of the unbearable strain under which we live, we must employ all our resources in the race of increasing armaments.

It is time now to put a stop to the complacency of democratic nations, and to recognize, once and for all time, that Communism, under the leadership of the present Soviet regime, is not working for a free and united world, but that on the contrary it exerts all its efforts to conquer the world for its own benefit. Communists and their allies — Marxists of any degree — must be fought relentlessly wherever they appear, but especially in the Soviet Union where this evil is deeply rooted. We must recognize that as long as Communism is alive in Soviet Russia, victories in other parts of the world will be undecisive and of a short duration.

Communism will never embark on a third world war while it knows that its enemies are stronger than they. So, strong we must be and do everything in our power to weaken our enemy. The Russian people, enslaved by Soviet tyranny for thirty two years and ruled by a ruthless and despotic hand, are our potential allies — ready at the first opportunity to take up arms against the regime which is their enemy, as well as ours. **These allies must be reached.** It must be constantly stressed that the United States of America, as well as other western democratic countries, are the friends of the Russian people, and at the same time the enemy of the regime which terrorizes them.

Most Russians who have left their homeland have fought Communism for more than thirty years. Toward this end, representatives of the Russian emigration, assembled in New York, on March 26-th, have formed an **ALL RUSSIAN ANTI-COMMUNIST CENTER**, with headquarters at New York City. At this assembly delegates of Russian clerical, political, military, professional and social organizations abroad participated. The assembly has formulated a Declaration explaining the aims of the Center.

With this Declaration, the Council of the Center, places itself at the disposal of the United States Government, and pledges itself to work in union with all American Anti-Communist organizations.

Serge S. Belosselsky.

President

Russian Anticommunist Center Serge V. Yourieff.

Secretary General

Russian Anticommunist Center

MEMORANDUM

25X1

TO: THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

FROM: THE RUSSIAN ANTI-COMMUNIST CENTER

Because of the gravity of conditions in the world today, the Russian Anti-Comunist Center feels that it must in conscience put a few facts before the American people.

The Korean war has proved once more that, in spite of the atom bomb, increased air power, and other new kinds of weapons, the land army is, as formerly, one of the most decisive factors in determining the outcome.

The most powerful land army in the world today, in number and in arms, is the Red Army of the Soviet Union. In Europe, which may well be an important battleground in a new World War, which we deem inevitable, there is not and there cannot be a land army which can resist the force of the Soviet Army. Undoubtedly, if and when the Soviets strike in Europe, their forces will be superior to those United States divisions stationed there.

The Atlantic Pact, which we wholeheartedly support, is not, however, an instrument capable of stopping Soviet aggression. It is not sufficient to send millions of dollars worth of arms to Europe. There must also be nations willing to bear these arms against diabolical Communism. Our experience in the last war has taught us the military value of France. Its present political situation cannot leave us any illusions. Western Germany could furnish us a powerful land army, which does not exist yet. But at best, German armies may be used only for the defense of Europe. It would be a tremendous psychological error to attempt to utilize them for any offensive against the Soviet Union, the defeat of which is essential to the overthrow of Communism. Hitler's actions in Russia still rankle in the heart of every Russian, and it would be easy for Stalin, as he did in Hitler's time, to arouse the national sentiment of the Russian people againsts the Americans as it has been done against the Germans, and thus produce a second Stalingrad defeat.

The only army which can move victoriously with United States armies to the territory of the Soviet Union, liberating one province after another, is the RUSSIAN NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY.

Such an army is not now in existence, but it is not too late to lay the groundwork for one. Without this powerful ally of the United States, the spread of Comunism throughout the entire world is inevitable; Communism with its destruction of Christian morals, of culture and civilization. Otherwise the blood of millions of innocent people will be spilled all over the world, and humanity will be a voiceless slave to triumphant, godless Communism. It is, therefore, necessary immediately — because soon it will be too late — to rectify the international policy of the United States which is driving the Russian people, the traditional friend of the United States, into the open arms of Stalin, and to show him before the world for what he is, the ENEMY OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE.

It is not necessary here to list the causes and the sources of a systematic, malicious plot to spread misinformation about the Russian people, a plot which gains in intensity with each passing day. Constant assertions that the U.S.S.R. is Russia, that Soviet aggression is historical Russian imperialsm, that Communism is a product of Russia, that the Russian people support Communism, while in reality they are its first victims, serve only to furnish fuel for Stalin's anti-American propaganda. Little by little the Russian people, who are daily exposed to the barrage of this kind of propaganda and who hear nothing else, will come to regard the United States of America as a greater aggressor than Hitler. Half measures will not help. There must be quick, decisive action.

The United States must know the truth about the Russian people. It must be told that they are a peaceful, deeply religious people, and that reference to the expansion policy of prerevolutionary Russia is a gross distortion of historical fact.

This, however, is not sufficient. It is imperative that the President of the United States, by a Solemn Manifesto, addressed to the Russian People, not to the Soviet Union, proclaim:

THAT, the United States of America does not want war.

THAT, the United States of America has no imperialistic aims toward Russia.

THAT, the United States of America considers the Russian people its traditional friend, and that she knows they groan beneath the yoke of Communist tyranny.

THAT, in the event of a war provoked by the Soviet Union, the United States and its allies will fight for the liberation of the Russian people from the bondage in which they are held by their Communist rulers, and for the freedom of the entire world from Communist oppression.

AND THAT, after the defeat of Communism, Russia will be returned to the Russian people, a free election will be held, without foreign intervention, so that the Russian people may elect a system of government under which they may live in harmony with the rest of the world.

We, the members of the Russian Anti-Communist Center, will take steps to see that such a document is made known to each and every Russian behind the Iron Curtain, in order to prevent the spread of Stalin's lies about the United States. Thus, the Russian people instead of being a potential ally of the United States, would become an active ally. The Red Army should know, in the event of a world clash, that is deserters and prisoners would not be sent to concentration camps, but would be taken into the ranks of the RUSSIAN LIBERATION ARMY. The time is imminent for the creation of such an army. We have the framework necessary to set it up, men who have been checked and whose credentials verified, men who love freedom and hate Communism.

These cadres are spread everywhere; in the United States and are other countries. Thy are in great number near the Iron Curtain, in Austria and in Germany. They will all be killed as the Soviet Army crosses Europe. It is necessary to move them deeper back in Europe as they are the people who are necessary for the creation of the RUSSIAN LIBERATION ARMY. The nucleus of this army, men who have good military training and who are versed in political propaganda, must be transferred in Europe before the Soviet Army makes any further progress.

The Red Army must be told of the formation of the RUSSIAN LIBERATION ARMY. Such an army, under supreme American command, but politically independent and with a Russian national flag, will serve as a link between the armies of the United States and its allies in the ranks of the Red Army, and as a magnet for deserters who welcome this chance to flee from Communism and fight the Soviets. These cells in the form of Russian military units in the United States army, swelled by deserters and prisoners, will snowball from batallions into regiments, from regiments into divisions, and from divisions into the RUSSIAN LIBERATION ARMY, which will move with the United States armies, and victoriously enter Soviet territory to be greeted by a jubiliant population!

Yes, it is possible. And only in this way can the United States and the rest of the world be saved. The fate of mankind depends on the decision of the leaders of the United States of America in this matter.

We are sure that the United States will fulfill its mission and will welcome our proposal to destroy the forces of evil which now beset the entire world.

THE RUSSIAN ANTI-COMMUNIST CENTER

October, 1950 51 East 121th Street, New York, N. Y.

WHO'S THE ENEMY -

The Communists or the Russian People?

MEMORANDUM

Prepared by

RUSSIAN NATIONAL ANTI-COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS

IN AMERICA

New York

1950.

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IT'S A "MUST"

The Korean crisis has squarely put before the American people the complex Russian problem. Now or never we must determine for ourselves — Who's the enemy — the communists or their downtrodden slaves — the great Russian people?

In our historical struggle against soviet tyranny it is to our inestimable advantage to have the Russian people, the traditional friend of the United States, as its trusted ally without whose liberation and active assistance international communism cannot be crushed.

It would be to our grave detriment to repeat the fatal error of Hitler who, instead of fighting communism, sought to wage an ignonimious war against Russia and the Russian people.

This country has tried hard but with no success to "appease" Stalin and his criminal gang. The policy of appeasement has resulted in a terrible fiasco for which our boys are now paying with their lives in Korea.

It is imperative for us to draw a sharp line of distinction between the bolshevik blood-stained bandits and the peace-loving Russian nation. For over three decades the Russians have been fervently hoping - alas, in vain - that "the West" would lend its helping hand to their endeavors to overthrow communism in Russia.

It's a "must" to stop on these shores vicious soviet-inspired propaganda seeking: (a) to inculcate on the minds of well-intentioned but hopelessly misinformed Americans that the Soviet police state is but a prolongation of "tyrannical" Imperial Russia, and (b) to vilify the Russian people by placing a mark of equation between them and their archenemies and oppressors - the NKVD executioners.

Now or never must the American people, for the protection of their own liberties, make a choice between satanic communism and its first, but not last, victim — the Russian people.

Who's the Enemy The Communists or the Russian People?

It is gratifying that American public opinion is beginning to awake to the fact that international Communism, as directed by the Soviet bandits entrenched in the Moscow Kremlin, is a deadly menace to the peace and freedom - loving nations of the world

Of late, many excellent and highly informative books have been published in this country exposing the diabolical and anti-Christian nature of the workings of the Stalin machine, both inside and outside of Russia, and sincere gratitude is due to the responsible factions of the American periodical press for giving detailed accounts of the activities of Soviet spy networks and their systematic infiltration into the U. S. Government departments, various scientific and educational agencies.

In this conection The Report of the Royal Commission of Canada, which was set up as a result of the sensational disclosures of Igor Gouzenko, a former "civilian employee" of the Soviet Embassy at Ottawa, unmistakably proved that the sinister setup of the espionage mechanism was the product "of a long preparation by trained and experienced men" who have come to this Continent for the express purpose of carrying on

espionage and subversive work on behalf and for the benefit of the U.S.S.R.

However, there is one most disturbmg aspect in a number of articles, newspapers, books, public utterances, and
even official records dealing with the
subject of Communism, which we deem
it our duty to call to the attention of the
leading U. S. officials, the members of
Congress, the press, and the American
people at large.

I.

There seems to be a well-marked tendecy, on the one hand, of identifying the Soviet Government with its victims, the Russian people, and on the other of representing the criminal and treasonable acts and practices of the Communist dictators as a mere continuation of the policies of the Imperial Russian Government. Even distinguished American statesmen, authors, and novelists have been — and still are — intentionally or otherwise, but rather persistently, inculcating on the minds of their readers the fallacious idea that Bolshevism is a purely Russian phenomenon, and that the police state created by Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin is but an alter ego, or replica, of the Czarist regime. The latter is almost invariably depicted as "backward",

"cruel", "tyrannical", "venul", "notorious for widespread graft and malversations", etc.

Only recently ex-President Herbert Hoover, a man of outstanding achievements and world wide experience, in his address at the closing session of the Publishers' Convention in New York, (April 28, 1950) drew the following unfortunate and obviously misleading parallel between Imperial Russia and the land of the Soviet Iron Curtain:

"The first phase of experience with Russia - said Mr. Hoover - began Since Peter the under the Czars. Great they steadily have expanded their reach of Empire over the largest land mass in the world. Their method was that of a burglar going down a hall. If there was no one in the first room, he took everything, including the door-knob. If they found someone in the second room who protested, he weighed the strength of the protests and might leave part of the furniture... Lenin and Stalin added a new apparatus for the robber. They now make the man in the second room a party member and rob him later by degrees..."

It is inconceivable that so intelligent a man as Mr. Hoover should not know that Peter's war with Sweden was a war for Russia's very existence: that it was not the Russians who invaded Sweden, but that, on the contrary, Charles XII had invaded Russia and penetrated as far as Poltava, some 1000 miles south of the Baltic; that Peter, having defeated the Swedes (1709), was compelled, as a matter of self-protection, to clear the Baltic coast, thus saving St. Petersburg, the new capital of the Empire, from Swedish aggression.

And, in all fairness to historical truth, Mr. Hoover should have told his audience that one century later, in 1812, it was not the Russians who invaded France, but that it was Napoleon, the most accomplished product of the so-called "Great French Revolution", who invaded Russia with the active assistance or tacit consent of virtually every continental European State; that it was Napoleon who penetrated Russia as far as Moscow and, finally, having been defeated by Field Marshal Koutouzov, fled across the Russian border, leaving the pitiful remnants of the "Grande Armée" to their sad lot.

Nor should Mr. Hoover have concealed the fact that when Emperor Alexander I had captured Paris (March 31, 1814) and liberated Europe from the Napoleonic yoke, he did not annex to Russia a single square inch of foreign territory; that, contrarywise, the Russian Monarch granted the Poles a most liberal constitution, notwithstanding the fact that in 1812 they fought Russia on the side of Napoleon.

Finally, it would have only been fair to state that, after the 1877-78 victorious war with Turkey for the liberation of the Southern Slavs, Russia did not annex a single square inch of enemy territory.

Where, then, is a simile between "the burglar going down a hall" and the policies of Imperial Russia, as compared with the unprecedented grab by Stalin of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Albania, Bulgaria, and Mongolia, with Finland, Yugoslavia, Manchuria, Korea, and China just awaiting their turn.

As a striking example of deliberate misinterpretation of Marxian Communism, the recently published book entitled "The People of Great Russia" by Geoffrey Gorer and John Rickman may be cited. Its main thesis is that the present misconduct of the U.S.S.R. is not so much Communistic as it is Russian and, that Communism has been superimposed on a fundamentally unchanged historic Russian psychology. To prove this allegation, the authors, under the aegis of Columbia University, have adduced a mass

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of misinformation, particularly _regarding the Russian Orthodox Church and its role in the spiritual life of the Russian people. Speaking, for instance, of the Sacrament of Confession and Absolution, these gentlemen go so far as to assert something that to an Orthodox Russian sounds as an incredible ignorance, viz., "only in exceptional circumstances does the penitent offer any account of what he thinks are his own particular sins. Believing in the universal sinfulness of human beings, it is not considered a lie to confess to sins of which he is not conscious, Priests, indeed, may refuse absolution of contumely and spiritual pride if the penitent persists in denying sins of which his confessor accuses him."

The concept of Original Sin is a universal **Christian** dogma, equally shared by the two great Catholic Churches, the Eastern and the Roman, as well as by the various Protestant denominations. But the assertion that, according to the Russian Orthodox canons "it is not considered a lie to confess to sins of which a penitent is not conscious but of which his confessor "accuses" him, is just sheer nonsense.

It is to be regretted that on the basis of such childish assumptions the two pundits came to the conclusion that the Russian people are psychologically "conditioned" to accept Communism as their new religion. And it is truly astonishing that the usually well-informed Intelligence Digest (Vol. 12, Chapt. 6, May 1950) unhesitatingly endorsed Gorer-Rickman's book not merely as a series of "brilliantly developed" arguments, but as the basis for a program of action designed to combat Bolshevism within the U.S.S.R. and its satellite dependencies. The contention of the editors of the bulletin comes down to this: the warfare against the Reds by the West must draw its support not from the Russian people but from "the non-Russian members of the Soviet system".

The degrading role attributed to the

Orthodox Church in the moulding of the Russian character by Messrs. Gorer and Rickman evinces either their absolute ignorance of Russian history or a deliberate attempt on their part to disparage that enormous spiritual force which, throughout centuries has served as a rallying point for the people in their bitter struggles now against the Mongol hordes, now against the Swedes, and the Poles, and now against Soviet tyranny. Do these selfstyled experts of Russian psychology have the faintest idea of the indomitable courage and dynamic personalities of Saint Sergius of Radonezh, who in 1380 inspired Grand Duke Dimitry to challenge the mighty Tartar Khan Mamai, the bloody battle on the Don resulting in a crushing defeat of the Mongols; or the Martyr Patriarch Hermogen, who, being held in Moscow as a captive of the Poles, was starved to death in his cell for defying their order to stop the advancing Russian troops under Prince Pojarsky (1612); or Patriarch Tikhon who in 1918 excommunicated the Communists as a body, and who, while imprisoned by the Soviets, issued a proclamation to the Nation, in which, vehemently assailing the Red rulers for their heinous crimes, among other things, stated:

> "It is not enough that you have stained the hands of the Russian people with the blood of their brethren. You have instigated the people to open, shameless robbery. You have befogged their conscience and stifled their concept of sin. But, under whatever name you may disguise an evil deed, murder, violence, and plunder will always remain crimes and deeds of evil clamoring to Heaven for vengeance. Yes, we are living through a dreadful time under your domination, and it will be long before it fades from the hearts of the people, where it has dimmed the image of God, and impressed that of the Beast."

> - And, turning now to the Gorer -

Rickman insinuation of the alleged submissiveness of the Russian people to Communist dictatorship, the question may be asked whether this is borne out by any historical facts? Who, but the Russians have waged a three-year desperate civil war against the Reds? Have these Columbia sages forgotten the names of the Generals Kornilov, Alexeeff, Pokrovsky, Dutov, Kaledin, and countless others who gave their lives for their country, while Russia's former Allies were busily and cheerfully betraying the Russian people, concocting and toying with all sorts of "appeasement" schemes, those sad preludes to the Teheran and Yalta conferences?

And, are the Samarins and Kasenkina "non-Russian members of the Soviet system"? And Igor Gouzenko and Victor Kravchenko who, risking their lives, divulged to the American and Canadian authorities the "top secrets" of the Soviet espionage network; who are they? Are they Hottentots?

And, who but the Russian emigrees in the lands of their dispersion, ever since 1918, have been steadily warning the respective governments of the "West" against the imminent danger of Communism to Christian civilization? And this they courageously did not only in times of peace and slumber, but during World War II, when there prevailed a real bacchanalia of pro-Soviet sympathies among the Allied Nations and when any public anti-Stalin statement entailed not only ridicule on the part of the press and a horde of pink radio-commentators, but official accusations of "pro-Nazism", "Fascism", and similar mortal sins.

The anti-Russian propaganda, as distinguished from anti-Communist propaganda, has assumed in this country many aspects and forms. Not all of them can be dealt with here because of the limited scope of this memorandum.

As an example of how far imagination can be stretched in this field - Dostoievsky's A Writer's Diary may be cited. The two volumes of this monumental work were published by Charles Scribner's Sons in May 1949. They were widely reviewed and highly praised by some critics and bitterly attacked by others. In the Sunday Book Review section of The New York Times of May 23, 1949, there appeared a long article by Mr. Ernest J. Simmons, Columbia Professor of Russian Literature. The title of the review itself is characteristic of its contents: "Dostoevsky on that Eternal Russian Urge to Dominate". Now, anyone who has read the Diary, knows that its author was an ardent advocate of the Christian ideal with its love, humility, and self-sacrifice. He was a patriot in the best and lofties sense of the word. His patriotism, however, and his faith in the Russian people, had nothing in common with - nay, they were a direct negation of - the crude, selfish, greedy, barbaric imperialism of Stalin & Co. Dostoievsky did believe that Russia, some day, may utter "the new word" to mankind, but he made it clear beyond a shadow of a doubt that the message which he hoped his native land would convey to the West ern world would be of a purely spiritual nature, designed to bring about "universal harmony and brotherly accord of all nations abiding by the law of Christ's Gospel".

Professor Simmons, disregarding this plain and unequivocal statement, which is the keynote of Dostoievsky's philosophy, proceeds to quote the following lines from **The Diary:**

"Every great people believes, and must believe, if it intends to live long, that in it alone resides the salvation of the world; that it lives in order to stand at the head of the nations, to affiliate and unite all of them, and to lead them in a concordant choir toward the final goal preordained for them."

- And, commenting on this brief passage, Mr. Simmons draws the astounding conclusion that:

"One has merely to replace Orthodoxy by Communism, and Czar by Stalin, and a kind of devil's transformation takes place."

The obvious implication of this mental legerdemain is that the sublime ethical values evolved by Orthodox Russia, her glorious legacy in every field of human endeavor are but a steppingstone toward the abominations of the Bolshevik hell with its universal slavery, espionage, and wholesale executions.

But then, "one has merely to replace" the words "meek" by "haughty", and the "persecuted" by the "persecutors", and Christ's Sermon on the Mount might be also turned into "a kind of devil's transformation": ... "Blessed be the haughty, for they shall inherit the earth"... "Blessed are the persecutors... for their's is the kingdom of heaven"...

Indeed, it is interesting to observe the touching harmony prevailing between the high-brow Columbia professor and... the Daily News in their methods of anti-Russian, as distinguished from anti-Soviet propaganda. For, this daily sheet advised on May 15, 1950, editorially, its enlightened readers that "Czar Alexander I of Russia... was the Big Russian Menace, just as czar Joe Stalin is today"; and further, that "Western Europe was afraid Alexander was going to move toward the Atlantic any day and Russianize the whole continent." Thus, according to this newspaper, it was not, Napoleon who was the aggressor, but Czar Alexander I whose country was invaded by the French in 1812. The question may well be asked: Why did Alexander I not "Russianize" the whole European Continent when his armies actually did move toward the Atlantic and capture Paris? - Why, instead of subjugating Western Europe, did Alexander's victorious armies peacefully return to Russia without, as stated, annexing a single square inch of foreign territory?

These undeniable facts should be compared with Napoleon's policies in

Italy, Spain, Holland, and Germany. It will be recalled that Napoleon's brother Joseph was made King of Spain; his brother Jerome - King of Westphalia; his brother Louis - King of Holland; his brother-in-law Murat - King of Naples; his infant son, in his cradle, was proclaimed King of Rome, and his son-in-law Eugene de Beauharnais - Vice King of Italy. On the other hand, Emperor Alexander I's brothers remained what they were - Russian princes.

Even so, not only the **Daily News** but many other periodicals keep picturing Imperial Russia as a state of traditional aggression. Thus, in the **New York Times** of May 27, 1950, there appeared an article by Mr. Sulzberger in which, referring to Russia's expansion, he observed that its beginning must be traced back to the early part of the XIX Century and, commenting on this point, he made the startling statement that had it not been for the benevolent role of Great Britain and particularly its fleet, Russia would have conquered almost the whole world.

This kind of vicious blooming nonsense about Czarist Russia is being printed daily in the American press and swallowed by the millions of its readers. And, it is remarkable, that the same men who are conducting violent anti-Russian propaganda are carefully refraining from exposing the imperialistic policies of Great Britain, France, Germany, and the Netherlands.

At times anti-Russian propaganda appears in the guise of objective accounts of this or that prominent American's experiences in U.S.S.R. Such memoirs are all the more insidious as truth about the Soviets is subtly interlaced with deceitful innuendos and misleading insinuations concerning Czarist Russia.

In this respect My Three Years in Moscow by Lieutenant General Walter Bedell Smith, former U. S. Ambassador to U.S.S.R., occupies a prominent, if not too enviable a place. The book comprises

15 chapters ten of which are prefaced by epigraphs which are excerpts from dispatches of one Neill S. Brown, the American Minister to Russia in the early fifties of the Nineteenth Centrury, i.e., during the last years of the reign of the Emperor Nicholas I, almost on the eve of the when England Crimean war, France, without any casus belli, saw fit to attack Russia in the Black Sea. Mr. Neill S. Brown is not biographically mentioned in any of the standard encyclopaedias. Judging from his dispatches, which exhibit intense hatred of the Government to which he was accredited and boundless ignorance of the country where he was to represent the United States, he must have been one of those obscure "career diplomats" who find their way into the State Department through either nepotism or political patronage. Each one of Mr. Brown's dispatches, as quoted by General Smith, is a spiteful smear of Imperial Russia, which could have admirably fitted into any revolutionary leaflet or pamphlet of the Lenin - Trotsky stamp. The leitmotiv of the official reports is that Czarist Russia is a tyranny; that the Russian people are ignorant and utterly devoid of creative genius.

Mr. Brown's epigraphs are obviously designed to substantiate General Smith's own thesis that the Communist drive from Moscow has been stripped naked of any internationalist pretense and exposed to the world as nothing more nor less than "Great Russianism". "The theories of Marx and Engels have been revised to fit Russian organizational concepts which are a modernization of the age-old Czarist practices of despotic power and absolute control" (p. 191).

General Smith justly describes the U.S.S.R. as a huge police state in which the fundamental human rights are mercilessly suppressed by the Red dictatorship But, he hastens to add that "Russia had a secret police for centuries, in one form or another, and for centuries it has

been a hated institution" (p. 115).

To begin with, not only Czarist Russia but virtually every country of any size and importance must maintain a secret police apparatus, be it in the form of the French Sureté Générale, or that branch of our own Federal Bureau of Investigation which is in charge of treasonable activities of either U.S. citizens such as Gold, Judith Coplon - lovingly described in one of the New York dailies as "the miniature Brooklyn brunette" -; or Alger Hiss; or the recently convicted members of the Politbureau of the "American" Communist Party, etc.; or packs of alien spies operating on these shores on behalf and for the benefit of the U.S.S.R. and to the detriment of the U.S.

Not only it is the right, it is the duty of every self-respecting state to protect its existence from either foreign aggression or domestic subversive activities.

However, there is a vast difference in the character and functions of the former Czarist secret police and the F.B.I., on the one hand, and the present-day Communist N.K.V.D. - on the other. The Czarist Okhrana was not, the F.B.I. is not, permitted to resort to physical torture of those suspected of treason. The former was, and the latter is, an investigative agency, subject to the rules of criminal procedure and to the supervision of the respective District Attorneys in Russia, and to that of the Department of Justice in the United States.

Torture has been strictly prohibited in Czarist Russia ever since 1802, and the Ukaz of Emperor Alexander I to the Ruling Senate to this effect decreed that "the very word 'torture', which confers shame and disgrace upon humanity, be forever effaced from the memory of the people". *

^{*} It may be noted, in passing, that at the time when in "barbaric" Russia this humanitarian law was enacted, in practically every Western European State torture was a regular procedure in the

In contrast to the above, the Communist rulers of present-day Russia have introduced Red terror as the basic policy of their administration. As far back as 1918, the official policy in this respect has been formulated thus:

"Only those among the representatives of the bourgeois class, who during the period of nine months succeeded in proving their loyalty to the Soviet regime, should be spared. All the others are our hostages and we should treat them accordingly. Enough of mildness. The interests of the Revoluton necessitate the physical annihilation of the bourgeois class. It is time for us to start." (Red Gazette, Editorial in the issue Aug. 31, 1918)

Leon Trotsky wrote a whole book bearing the reassuring title **The Defense** of Terrorism (London, 1921). And that the disciples of Lenin and Marx meant what they said, was graphically described by the Rev. R. Courtier-Forster, late British Chaplain at Odessa who, in 1919, had witnessed the reign of terror in that city:

"The house in the Catherine Square, in which I was first in captivity, afterwards became the Bolshevists' House of Torture in which hundreds of victims were done to death. The shrieks of the people being tortured to death, or having splinters of wood driven under the quick of their nails, were so agonizing and appalling that friends of my own, living more than a hundred yards away..., were obliged to fasten their double windows to prevent the cries of anguish penetrating into the house. The horror and fear of the

administration of criminal justice. More particularly, in Austria the dreadful Criminal Code of Maria Theresia was in force. There, the methods and instruments of torture were described with truly sadistic savor.

surviving citizens was so great that the Bolshevists kept motor lorries thundering up and down the street to drown the awful screams of agony wrung from their dying victims." (London Times, December 3, 1919, pp. 2, 3, and 4. - See also Boris Brasol's The Balance Sheet of Sovietism, chapter entitled "Russia under the Soviet Heel," Duffield & Co., NY, 1922)

Now, will General Smith suggest that conditions even remotely approximating the horrid picture drawn by the eminent English clergyman ever existed, or could have existed, in Czarist Russia?

In justice to "Generalissimo" Stalin and his criminal accomplices it should be added that the crude methods of torture, which they had employed in the spring days of the Communist Revolution, have been greatly improved upon, having now reached an unsurpassed level of refined cruelty. One has only to read Kravchenko's I Chose Freedom or The Dark Side of the Moon (Anonymous, Scribners, 1947), to become convinced that the Soviet secret police system, far from being a continuation of the Czarist Okhrana, is a monstrous phenomenon which has no precedent in world history, an institution of organized vivisection, to which a whole nation of 200,000,000 people is being subjected; a state establishment incarnating inbred vulgarity that resorts to every sort of bestial habit and crime "without fear, without pleasure, without horror, without pity" (Ruskin), and which by its cold-blooded brutality exceeds the most depraved Chinese abominations depicted in Octave Mirbeau's Jardin des Supplices.

In passing, it may also be remarked that it is an integral part of the Soviet secret police practice to instigate children to spy upon and denounce their parents. Will General Smith seek to prove that anything of the sort was, or could have been, tolerated under the Imperial re-

gime? And, does the General know that, on the strength of the Article 705 of the Imperial Code of Criminal Procedure, the wife or husband of the defendant, his relatives in the direct ascending and descending lines, as well as his brothers and sisters, were given the right to refuse to give any testimony, but, if they agreed to testify, they were not permitted to do so under oath? Where, then, does General Smith find any simile or parallel, on the one hand, between the atrocious practices of the Communist secret police and court procedure under which the wife or husband of a defendant, while accused of a "political" crime, as well as his or her closest relatives, are automatically held as hostages of the N.K.V.D., and on the other hand, the humane proceedings, by which the police and the criminal courts were required to abide, and actually did abide, under the laws of Czarist Russia?

General Smith admits that, according

to his best estimate, the entire slave labor

force in the Soviet Union amounts to some 15,000,000 men, women, and children (p. 12). And this huge army of unfortunate human beings, dwelling in miserable concentration camps, is directly subordinate to the N.K.V.D., or secret police, which exercises over them unlimited power, a virtual jus vitae ac necis. Does the General further claim that the Okhrana under the Czars was ever vested with such authority? And, if he makes no such absurd claim, why then does he so insidiously seek to convince his American readers, if it be not because of his intense Russophobia, that there is a simile between the secret police in Imperial Russia and the Soviet N.K.V.D.? Does General Smith seriously maintain that prior to the Soviet November Revolution there was slave labor in the Russia of the Czars? - If this be his contention; would it not have been a matter of his routine duty, as of one accredited to represent the United States at the court of Stalin, to study, be it even superficially, the history of Russia? If he

would have done so, he might have discovered, perhaps much to his surprise, that on February 19, 1861, i. e., almost a century ago, Emperor Alexander II, with one penstroke, had granted freedom to 22,000,000 Russian peasant serfs, endowing them with land, whereas in this count ry it took four years of a bloody civil war to enfranchise the Negro slaves without land or any other means of self-support (1865).

And General Smith, in his survey of Russian history, would have further learned that by January 1, 1917, i.e., under the Czars, the peasants were the owners of, and held title to, over 50 per cent of all the arable land in Russia.

On the other hand, by virtue of the decree of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of February 19, 1918 (Coll. Enact. and Decr. 1918, № 25, sect. 346), private ownership of land was abolished, and thus the peasants were deprived of the title to those lands which they owned under the Czars.

Do all these data bear out the contention of General Smith and of other incurable Russophobes that pre-revolutionary Russia was a despotic country, and that the Communists' inferno is but a prolongation of what they term "the Czarist tyranny"?

And, to wind up the discussion on this particular point, American readers should be reminded of the fact that on April 17, 1863, by an Imperial Ukaz corporal punishment was abolished throughout the Russian Empire, whereas in England as late as the beginning of the Twentieth Century the whip and the rod were liberally administered not only in the prisons, but likewise in public elementary and high schools. Needless to say that brutal beating in Soviet prisons and concentration camps is a routine occurrence which has been described in detail by Kravchenko in his book I Chose Freedom (Chapter XVII - "Torture after Midnight"); Vladimir Chernavin I Speak for the Silent (Hale, Cushman &

Flint, Boston, 1935); George Kitchin in **Prisoner of the O.G.P.U.** (Longmans, Green, NY, 1935); Tatiana Chernavina, **Escape from the Soviets** (Dutton, NY, 1934), and many others.

Last but not least, it should be remembered that Imperial Russia was the first state of any considerable size to abolish capital punishment. This was done in 1754 by Empress Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter the Great, whereas only one hundred years ago in England and in this country boys and girls were hanged for stealing a sheep. And, again, it is hardly necessary to state that in the U.S. S.R. executions are carried out on a tremendous scale, and that corpses of persons shot by the N.K.V.D. without even a pretense of a trial are removed night after night in huge trucks from the Bolshaia Loubianka prison in Moscow and from other torture houses throughout the U.S.S.R.

II.

Anti-Russian propagandists, not excluding General Smith (see page 67 of his book My Three Years in Moscow), have been steadily accusing the Imperial Russian Government of venality and corruption. Now, it is quite true that in the Eighteenth Century and up to the middle of the Nineteenth Century, prior to the epoch of Emperor Alexander II's Great Reforms, on the lower levels of Russian bureaucracy there was as much graft as in other European continental states. But it is important to bear in mind, that this repulsive feature of the administration was publicly lashed by Empress Catherine II in her comedy The Antechamber of an Eminent Boyar; by V. V. Kapnist in his biting satire The Tale Bearer, which was produced on the stage of the Imperial Dramatic Theater in St. Petersburg in 1798, during the reign of the "despotic" Emperor Paul I, and, finally, by N.V. Gogol in his immortal comedy The Reviser (The Inspector General), the first performance of which on the stage of the

Imperial Alexander Theater in St.Petersburg, in the presence of the supposedly reactionary Emperor Nicholas I (April 19, 1836), proved an immense success.

However, beginning with the reign of Emperor Alexander II, as a result of the radical reformation of the entire administrative apparatus, the liberation of the peasants, and the introduction of the admirable and incorruptible court institutions (November 20, 1864), graft had almost disappeared from the Russian scene. It would have been unthinkable to attempt to bribe a Russian judge or any of the high officials in the administration, or any member of the legislative body (Imperial or State Council).

Such, unfortunately, is not the case in several Western countries, including the United States. Suffice it to mention the Panama Scandal (1892) in France, and the Teapot Dome Scandal as well as the widespread corruption brought about in the United States in connection with the enforcement of the National Prohibition Act, and, in most recent times, the facts connected with the names of General Bennet E. Myers, Congressman Andrew May, and the brothers Henry and Murray Garson, etc.

Even so, it would be wholly unfair to denounce either the French or the U.S. Government, cumulatively, as a regime of turpitude and venality, on the ground of stated ugly felonies, committed by individuals. And yet, even in view of a total absence of similar malfeasances in Czarist Russia, the Russophobes of this country persist in accusing the Russian Imperial Government of dishonesty and corruption.

III,

Among the many charges which are being systematically brought against Czarist Russia is the alleged fact that she evinced a striking inefficiency and ineptitude even in the strictly military field. Such accusations were publicly made by the late President Theodore

Roosevelt in 1919, and have recently been reiterated by General Walter Bedell Smith who, being a military man himself, should certainly know better.

Thus, in discussing the German victory at Tannenberg in August 1914, which resulted in the defeat of the 2nd Russian Army in the region of the Masurian Lakes, General Smith, to begin with, nonchalantly remarks that the Russian forces under General Rennenkampf "had been routed at Gumbinnen".

This is either a deliberate misstatement or an astounding lack of knowledge of the history of World War I. Major-General Sir Alfred Knox, British Military Attache at Petrograd, in his diary With the Russian Army (Vol. I, p. 55, Dutton, 1921) noted, under the date of August 1914, as follows:

"Rennenkampf has won an important action at Gumbinnen. Russians think three German Corps were engaged. The enemy asked for leave to bury his dead and this was refused."

The truth is that following the defeat of the German VIII Army at Gumbinnen, General Prittwitz, German Commander in the East, "alarmed for the safety of his communications, after a first panicky decision to abandon all East Prussia and to retire to the lower Vistula, ordered the withdrawal to the line of the River Passage" (Knox, ibid., p. 56. - See also article by Major-General Sir William E. Ironside, Tannenberg, Battle of, Encycl. Brit., Vol. XXI, p. 793).

From the standpoint of narrative, there was no logical necessity for General Smith to dwell at all upon either Gumbinnen or the battle of Tannenberg. But, as a convinced Russophobe, he apparently did actually intend to insert those unwarranted passages in order to draw the following conclusion:

"This campaign illustrated a weakness which had been frequent in Russian armies throughout history, and which was eliminated only by the Bolshevik discipline and iron control — that is, a tendency to jealousy and hatred between Russian senior officers. Hindenburg accurately took the measure of his opponents, noting that Samsonov and Rennenkampf had long been bitter enemies as a result of a disagreement arising during the Russo-He believed that Japanese war. either would prefer to see the other defeated than to win a battle himself... His estimate was correct, and the Russian debacle resulted." (Ibid., pp. 36, 37)

But, General Smith carefully conceals from his readers the fact that Samsonov, having lost the battle at Tannerberg, committed suicide. Is it General Smith's contention that Samsonov took his life into his own hands just to cause a little annoyance to General Rennenkampf?

And, what a malignant obiter dictum, en passant, to "Bolshevik discipline and and iron control". If so, how does General Smith account for the uninterrupted series of unprecedented and shameful defeats of the Red Army during World War II which, for the first time in the history of Russia, has enabled a Western invading force to penetrate as far as the Volga and the Caucasus? What is Smith's explanation of the fact that during the first two years of the German-Soviet war in 1941 - 1943, at least 3,500,000 Red Army men were taken prisoners by the Hitler Wehrmacht?

But, so bitter is anti-Russian feeling among certain American politicians, newspaper columnists, radio commentators, and military men that, ignoring the truth, they disparage even the glorious exploits of the Russian Imperial Army: Peter the Great who dealt a crushing blow at Charles XII of Sweden, supposedly the ablest military leader of the time; the long series of Field Marshal Souvorov's brilliant victories over the Turks and the French revolutionary ar-

mies in Italy; the catastrophic defeat of Napoleon, the greatest military genius of all times, by Field Marshal Koutouzov; the victorious war of 1877-78, when the Russian armies stood at the gates of Constantinople; and last not least, the epic Brussilov offensive in Bukovina and Galicia in 1916, which saved Italy, when over 350,000 Austro-German prisoners were taken, together with 400 guns, and the capture of the Turkish fortress Erzerum (February 16, 1916) which in the words of Colonel Archibald Percival Wavell, of the British General Staff, "was one of the finest feats of arms of the whole War" (Enc. Brit., Vol. I, p. 59).

Well, the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and General Smith and his Russophobe admirers may be reminded of the fact that during World War I the Czarist Army, in 30 months of its fighting, took 2,200,000 Austro-German prisoners and 3,850 guns, whereas the other Entente Powers (France, England, and Italy) took 360,000 prisoners and 1,500 cannons in 51 months. And it was Field Marshal Foch who in March 1919, stated to a correspondent of The New York Times: "And note especially that, if France was not wiped off the map of Europe, we owe it first of all to Russia." (See also Memoirs of Marshal Joffre, Marshal von Hindenburg, General Ludendorff, and General Gallieni).

So much for the "inefficiency" of the Russian Imperial Army.

IV.

Mr. Neill S. Brown, the American Minister to Russia, in his dispatch to the State Department of November 6, 1851, wrote as follows:

"Russia cannot boast of a single invention in mechanics that has been practical or copied out of the country. All they have is borrowed, except their miserable climate... And all their arts and pursuits, though cultivated and pressed, with commendable diligence and success, are the products of foreign genius, dup-

licates of inventions and discoveries of a people wiser than themselves."

Since these lines have been written it has been a vogue in the American Russophobe camp to accuse Czarist Russia, as distinguished from the U.S.S.R., of backwardness and utter lack of creative genius.

Is this contention correct? — Let us inquire into facts.

Literature and Art

That Czarist Russia has produced a great imaginative literature is vouched for by the names of A. S. Pushkin, U. M. Lermontov, I. A. Krilov, next to La Fontaine the most brilliant fabulist, V. A. Joukovsky, A. S. Griboyedov, S. A. Goncharov, S. T. Aksakov, I. S. Turgeneff, A. F. Pisemsky, N. V. Gogol, Count L. N. Tolstoy, A. N. Maikov, A. A. Fet, Count A. K. Tolstoy, A. N. Ostrovsky, F. M. Dostoievsky, M. E. Saltykov, D. S. Merejkovsky, A. P. Chekhov, the Nobel Prize winner I. Bunin, and a whole galaxy of other talented poets, novelists, dramatists and critics less known to the Western world.

The Russian theatre has been universally admired by those who understand what dramatic art is. The Imperial Alexander Theatre in St. Petersburg, the Imperial Maly (Small) Theatre in Moscow, and the Moscow Art Theatre of Stanislavsky have made unforgettable contributions to the world stage. Among the great Russian actors and actresses the following may be mentioned: F. Volkov (1729-1763), Schepkin (1788-1863) who was the son of a serf; P. S. Mochalov; M. V. Dalsky; V. N. Davydoff; Orleneff; Samoilov; K. A. Varlamov; A. I. Ujin (Prince Soumbatov); V. I. Kachalov; M. N. Ermolova; G. N. Fedotova; V. F. Komissarjevskaja; M. G. Savina; E. K. Lechkovskaia. Their artistic achievements can be matched against those of Edmund Kean, David Garrick, Elizabeth Rachel, and Sarah Bernhardt.

The Russian Imperial Ballet was unsurpassed. Anna Pavlova, Matilda Kshesinskaia, and Nijinsky had no equals on any stage. And among the operatic singers are there many equal to Fedor Shaliapin, the son of a Russian peasant?

Russian composers - M. I. Glinka, N. A. Rimsky-Korsakov, P. I. Tchaikovsky, M. P. Moussorgsky, A. P. Borodin, A. G. Rubinstein, A. S. Dargomijsky, A. K. Glazunov, M. A. Balakirev, A. N. Skriabin, and S. V. Rachmaninov, these masters of harmony, have left a glorious legacy to the world music.

In the field of painting Czarist Russia produced a number of highly talented and refined artists. To mention but a few: V. L. Borovikovsky, O. A. Kiprensky, V. A. Tropinin, K. P. Brulov, A. A. Ivanov, Levitzky, I. E. Repin, K. E. Makovsky, I. K. Aivazovsky, V. V. Vereschagin, M. A. Vroubel, V. A. Serov, V. M. Vasnetzov, M. V. Nesterov, K. Somov, V. I. Sourikov, I. I. Shishkin, M. Dobujinsky, A. N. Benois, A. I. Kuindji and Sudeikin.

Among the many excellent Russian sculptors the following should be particularly mentioned: N. S. Pimenov (1812-1864), F. Shoubin, M. I. Kozlovsky, I. P. Martos, Count F. P. Tolstoy, Opekushin, Prince Paolo Troubetzkoy, and M.M. Antokolsky (1843-1902); the latter's work was greatly appreciated and liberally encouraged by Emperor Alexander III. His best creations are: "John the Terrible", "Peter the Great", "Nestor the Chronicler", and "Spinoza".

In architecture, Russian master-builders have attained a high degree of excellence as far back as the XVIth Century. One of the outstanding specimens of these early architectural monuments is the famous St. Basil Cathedral in the Moscow Kremlin, which was built by order of Czar Ivan the Terrible in 1555 - 1559 by Postnik and Barma, in commemoration of the conquest of the Kazan Tartar Czardom. Subsequently, both Russian capitals were adorned with a number

of beautiful buildings by A. D. Zakharov (the Admiralty in St. Petersburg, 1810); A. N. Voronikhin (the Kazan Cathedral in St. Petersburg, 1811, and the Mining Institute, 1806); K. A. Thon (the Nicholas Palace in the Moscow Kremlin, and the gorgeous Cathedral of Christ the Saviour, which was demolished by an "enlightened" order of the Red dictator Joseph Djugashvili (who is better known by his party alias "Stalin"); F. I. Lidval (the Azov-Don Bank Building in St. Petersburg and the offices of the St. Petersburg Second Credit Society); N. V. Vasiliev (the Mohammedan Mosque in St. Petersburg), etc.

To these brief data concerning literature and art in "backward Czarist Russia" two facts may be added. First, the Imperial Porcelain Factory, which was established in St. Petersburg in the Forties of the XVIII Century, may well compete, in the artistic beauty of its products, with the Sèvres Porcelain Plant in France and the Meissen China Works near Dresden, Saxony. Second, the Imperial Stone Grinding Factory in Peterhof, which started functioning in 1731, was a unique institution. The processes of grinding and polishing of marble, malachite, jasper, horn-stone, lapis lazuli, and other semi-precious stones have attained there a level of unsurpassed perfection. The products of the Grinding Factory have been exhibited in London, Vienna, Chicago, and Paris, evoking universal admiration. Some of the most beautiful mosaic floors of the Imperial Hermitage in St. Petersburg were executed by the workers of that plant. The inside lining of the walls of the colossal St. Isaac Cathedral in St. Petersburg (converted by the Bolsheviks into an anti-religious "museum"), eight huge malachite columns in the Winter Palace, two majestic sarcophagi of green jasper built over the tombs. of Emperor Alexander II and his wife Empress Maria Alexandrovna in the Sts. Peter and Paul Cathedral, a gorgeous horn-stone vase in

the Vatican Library, - these and many other exquisite objects of art bear evidence of the magnificence of the creative achievements of that famous Imperial Fabrique de Taille, as it used to be called by the French (See **Guide de Peterhof**, pp. 159-163, St. Petersburg, 1909).

There is no need to dwell here upon other ramifications of Russian creative genius in the realm of pure art, such as the ikons, church choirs, embroidery, folk songs, and the like, which have been universally acclaimed, and which form an integral part of Russian culture, as it has been evolved during the reign of the "despotic" Czars.

Science.

It is one of the trump arguments of the Russian-baiters in this country that Czarist Russia had no science of her own, and that whatever scientific knowledge the Russians had acquired, was borrowed "from peoples wiser than themselves".

Is this contention correct?

It is, of course, true, that because of historical reasons, and more specifically, as a result of the Mongol yoke (1240-1480), scientific work in Russia had been retarded, as compared with Western Europe, by approximately two hundred years, and thus, it had actually begun in the middle of the XVIII Century. However, from that time on, Russian science has progressed in gigantic strides.

The first impetus to Russian independent scientific endeavors was given by Mikhail Vasilievich Lomonosov (1711-1765), the son of a peasant. Brueckner, the noted German historian of Russian literature, in his Geschichte der Russischen Literatur, defined Lomonosov's scientific status in following words: "Metallurgist, geologist, chemist, electrician, astronomer, politico-economist, statistician, geographer, hstorian, philologist, critic, poet." Lomonosov's thermology antedated the work of the Western European physicists by several decades,

and in chemistry (principles of oxidation and related processes) he was the precursor of Lavoisier (1743-1794). In 1755, Lomonosov compiled The Russian Grammar which laid the philological foundation of the Russian literary language. He became the leading spirit in the labors of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences (founded 1725), of which Princess Dashkova, a woman of unusual erudition and intellect, was appointed the President by Empress Catherina II (1762 - 1796). *

In recognition of his many and important contributions to science Lomonosov was elected honorary member of the Académie Française and the Stockholm and Bologna Academies of Sciences. The all-embracing genius of Lomonosov makes him one of the most impressive figures in the history of modern science (See further **The Russian Biographical Dictionary**, Vol. X, pp. 593-628).

The steam engine was first invented by Polsounov in Russia, some 20 years before James Watt (1763-1819).

The electric arc-lamp was invented by V. V. Petrov in 1802, i. e., five years before Sir Humphrey Davy (1807).

The electric telegraph was demonstrated and actually applied in St. Petersburg by P. L. Schilling, seven years before Morse filed his caveat at the Patent Office in 1837.

A Russian scholar, B. S. Jacobi built, in 1837, a boat which was propelled by electricity and was demonstrated on the Neva River. In the following year he conducted experiments with the electrification of a railroad. In 1849, in St. Petersburg, he lighted a whole street by

^{*} Two facts should be particularly noted: first, the appointment of a woman to the presidency of an Academy of Sciences was in itself an extraordinary event, and, secondly, in the XVIII Century women's education in Western Europe was looked upon with disfavor even by the most "progressive" thinkers.

means of arc-lamps.

Being also a pioneer in galvanoplasty, Dr. Jacobi published his findings in that field in 1840.

The great Russian mathematician N. I. Lobachevsky (1793-1856) was the creator of the Non-Euclidean Geometry. He first expounded his theory in a lecture which he delivered in 1826 at the Imperial Kazan University, and which he subsequently elaborated in his treatise Untersuchungen zur Theorie der Parallellinien (Berlin, 1840). Lobachevsky's work is the foundation of modern mathematics. Sophie Kovalevskaia (1850 - 1891), A. A. Markov (1856 - 1922), and N. A. Oumov (born 1846) have also won an international reputation as exceptionally gifted mathematicians.

A. N. Ladygin, while still a student at the Imperial St. Petersburg University, in 1874, invented the electric lamp, five years before Edison who, after expending more than \$40,000 in fruitless experiments, finally succeeded on October 21, 1879, in making an incandescent lamp.

Among the greatest chemists of the XIX Century was Dmitry I. Mendeleev (1834 - 1907), the discoverer of the Periodic Law. In 1871, working on the chemical properties of different substances, he asserted the existence of three new elements to which he assigned definite characteristics. His prognosis was completely vindicated within the subsequent fifteen years by the discovery of gallium in 1871, scandium in 1879, and germanium in 1886.

He also questioned the correctness of the generally adopted atomic weights on the ground that these conflicted with his Periodic Law, and here, too, his findings were corroborated by subsequent investigation.

Mendeleev was awarded the Davy Medal by the British Royal Society in 1882, and in 1905 he received its coveted Copley Medal.

Another brilliant chemist of Czarist Russia is Vladimir Ipatieff, now an American citizen, (born 1867), was elected member of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences in 1915. He was awarded the Berthelot Gold Medal by the French Chemical Society, and the Willard Gibbs Medal by the American Chemical Association. In 1940, he founded the Ipatieff Catalytic High Pressure Laboratory at the Northwestern University in Chicago.

In 1895, the Russian physicist A. S. Popov invented the antenna, a few months before Marconi, and in 1899, Popov applied long distance radio telegraphy for practical purposes.

In the field of medicine, physiology, and biology Ivan P. Pavlov (Nobel Prize, 1904), Ilya Metchnikov (Nobel Prize, 1908), and W. Bechterew, professor at the St. Petersburg Imperial Academy of Medicine, became world famous. The latter's treatise on the conductional tracks of the brain and the medulla, translated into many languages, is a classic.

Dr. N. I. Pirogov (1810-1881) may well be considered the father of modern surgery,* while Dr. I.P. Merjeevsky, and Professor I. A. Sikorsky (the father of Igor Sikorsky, born 1889, the famous constructor of the first multimotored airplane and the inventor of the helicopter) have made important contributions to psychiatry.

Andrei Avinoff (1884 - 1949), director, and later director emeritus of the Pittsburgh Carnegie Museum, was one of the leading entomologists. In pre-revolutionary Russia he owned one of the largest - if not the largest - private collections of butterflies in Europe.

Eugene F. Burinsky, honorary member of the Imperial Russian Photogra-

^{*} In 1862, Garibaldi received a bullet wound in the battle of Aspermente. The best Western European surgeons failed to locate the bullet. Then Pirogov was summoned and not only did he forthwith locate and extricate it, but he successfully cured the eminent Italian of the effects of his wound.

phic Society, was one of the founders of forensic photography. His monumental work "Forensic Tests of Documents" (St. Petersburg, 1903) is still unsurpassed.

Czarist Russia has given to the world a number of famous jurists, such as N. Tagantzev, N. Nekludov, and I. Foynitzky, the criminalists; F. F. Martens, the brilliant scholar of international law; K. P. Pobyedonostzev, V. L. Isachenko, and G. F. Shershenevich, the outstanding civilists; L. J. Petrajitzky, probably the most eminent authority on the philosophy of law; M. F. Vladimirsky - Boudanov, Sergeevich, I. E. Zabielin, and B. Chicherin - the historians of Russian law; - they all justly occupy an honored place in international jurisprudence.

Also, in the field of Russian national history as well as general history, Imperial Russia could have proudly pointed out to such names as N. M. Karamzin (1776 - 1826), V. O. Kluchevsky (1842 - 1911), N. I. Kostomarov (1817 - 1885), T. N. Granovsky (1813 - 1855), A. S. Khomiakov (1804 - 1860), S. M. Solovieff (1820 - 1879), the author of **The History of Russia from the most Ancient Time**, 29 volumes; Sir Paul Vinogradoff, and M. I. Rostovtzeff (born 1870), since 1944 professor emeritus at Yale University.

V. I. Dahl (1801 - 1872), unaided, has performed a stupendous lexicographical task in compiling the four-volume Dictionary of the Living Russian Language.

Philosophy and logic had their remarkable representatives in Czarist Russia; to name but such men as V. S. Solovieff (1853 - 1900), the son of the above historian, Prince Eugene Troubetzkoy, N. Berdiaev, N. O. Lossky, and many others.

Great and many were the contributions of Russian scientists and explorers under the Czars to geography. In 1803 -1806 Russian ships, under the command of Captain Lisiansky and Krusenstern made the first circumnavigation of the globe (Kronstadt-Cape Horn - Sakhalin-Northern Japan-Western shores of North America - Cape of Good Hope - Northern shores of Scotland - Kronstadt). This expedition collected valuable geographical, zoological, and botanical data concerning such lands and localities as were at that time but perfunctorily known to science (Sakhalin, West Coast of the Baranof Island, North Coast of Japan).

P. P. Semenov - Tienshansky (1827-1910) in 1856 - 58 explored Tien-Shan, its geology and zoology. He was the first among the European explorers who penetrated that region and had ascended Tengri Khan (23,950 feet).

G. N. Potanin (1835 - 1920) conducted four scientific expeditions to Mongolia and Tibet.

N. V. Radlov (1837 - 1919) explored in the Sixties the Altai and Dzungaria; he undertook comprehensive studies of the ethnography and philology of the Turkic tribes, and in 1892 he headed an archaeological expedition to the ruins of Karakorum.

N. M. Prjevalsky (1839 - 1888), "the Russian Livingstone", was the genial explorer of Central Asia, where he spent altogether more than nine years of his life, having organized four expeditions (1871 - 1886) covering some 25,000 miles. He was the first to investigate the geological properties of the ridges of Northern Tibet; he brought back from his journeys rich botanical and geological collections; he discovered new zoological species such as the wild camel, the Tibet bear, and the Tibet horse, which is known as the "Prjevalsky horse"; he made numerous barometrical and astronomical surveys of mountain peaks. He was the first European who succeeded in reaching the riverheads of Hang Ho (Yellow River) and the Blue River, determining the precise course of Tarim, and that place of Lob Nor, where it discharges itself into the basin.

V. V. Junker (1840 - 1892) conducted

several expeditions to Equatorial Africa (1877 - 1887), devoting special study to Africa's hydrography and ethnography.

N. N. Miklukho - Maklai (1847-1887) explored the Malay Archipelago, and numerous Pacific Islands, particularly New Guinea (1871 - 1883).

To terminate this brief survey of the scientific achievements of Czarist Russia, it seems appropriate to mention some of her outstanding institutions and societies of learning, in addition to those already named.

The Imperal Public Library in St. Petersburg, which was founded in 1814. Alongside with the British Museum in London and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris it was one of the three largest libraires in Europe.

The Imperial Moscow University (1755) which was the first University in Russia. It became the alma mater of many distinguished Russian scholars and statesmen.

The Imperial University in St. Petersburg, 1819, whose library competed with that of the Imperial Academy of Sciences.

The Imperial Pulkovo Observatory, 10 miles South of St. Petersburg, was built in 1839, during the reign of Emperor Nicholas I. Next to the Greenwich Royal Observatory, it was the most important meteorological station in the world.

The Imperial Geographical Society, founded 1845 in St. Petersburg.

Imperial Academy of Arts, 1757, in St. Petersburg.

Imperial Hermitage, 1765, in St. Petersburg, one of the most superb art collections in the world, containing, in addition to a gorgeous picture gallery, a selection of mediaeval objects of fabulous value, as well as an extensive numismatics department.

The Russian Museum of Alexander III in St. Petersburg, 1895.

Imperial Russian Historical Museum in Moscow, 1883.

Pedagogical Museum in St. Petersburg, 1864.

Polytechnical Museum in Moscow, 1872.

The Artistic and Industrial Museum of Baron A. L. Stiglitz in St. Petersburg, 1872. By the wealth of its collections, it was the leading museum in the world.

Imperial Russian Historical Society, in St. Petersburg, 1866.

The Caucasian Archaeological Commission, Tiflis, 1864.

Tretiakov Picture Gallery, donated by the founder to the city of Moscow in 1892.

Conservatoire in St. Petersburg, 1862.

Conservatoire in Moscow, 1866.

The People's Conservatoire of Music in St. Petersburg, 1908.

Imperial Archaeological Institute in St. Petersburg.

Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople, 1895.

The Moscow Mathematical Society, 1866.

The Physico-Chemical Society, St. Petersburg, 1868.

The Physico-Mathematical Society in conjunction with the Imperial Kazan University, 1891.

The St. Petersburg Physico-Mathematical Society, 1892.

The Imperial Medical Academy, in St. Petersburg, 1807.

The Psycho-Neurological Institute in St. Petersburg, 1906.

The Imperial Technological Institute in St. Petersburg, 1831.

The Institute of Civil Engineers in St. Petersburg.

The Free Economic Society in St. Petersburg, 1765, for research in the fields of economics and finance.

The Society of Experimental Sciences in St. Petersburg, 1805.

The Society of the Friends of Learning in Moscow, 1782.

The Russian Philharmonic Society in St. Petersburg, 1802.

The Electro-Technical Institute in St. Petersburg.

The Museum of Natural History in St. Petersburg.

The Polytechnical Institute in St. Petersburg.

The Roumiantzev Museum in Moscow.
The Pushkin Museum in conjunction with the Imperial Alexander Lyceum, in St. Petersburg.

The Lermontov Museum in conjunction with the Nicholas Cavalry School in St. Petersburg,

The Moscow Archaeological Society 1864.

The Imperial Mining Institute in St. Petersburg, with an examplary mineralogical museum.

Russian Museum of Fine Arts of Emperor Alexander III in Moscow, 1893, containing an extensive collection of Egyptian and Oriental antiquities.

The Bezborodko Historico-Philological Institute in Niejin.

Demidoff Lyceum of Study of Law in Jaroslavl.

The Imperial Law School in St. Petersburg, 1835.

The Imperial Alexander Lyceum in St. Petersburg, 1811.

Institute of Oriental Languages in Vladivostok.

The Historico-Philological Institute in St. Petersburg.

The Institute of Forestry in St. Petersburg.

The Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages in Moscow, etc., etc.

Even these brief data, selected almost at random, which do not include many other institutions and associations of learning, should convince the unbiased reader that Czarist Russia, far from having been a backward, "outmoded", and "feudal" country, as it is systematically misrepresented by incurable Russian-baiters, has made a generous and noble contribution to world culture.

The fact should also be noted that, during the reign of Emperor Nicholas II

(1894 - 1917), who was brutally murdered, together with the Empress and their children, in 1918, at Ekaterinburg, by order of Yankel Sverdlov, the then president of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, public education had shown remarkable progress. The budget of the Ministry of Public Education increased 628 per cent, having reached in 1914 the impressive sum of 161,600,000 Gold Rubles, which was but a fraction of the sum total of actual expenditures allocated for educational purposes by the various Ministries, Zemstvos (selfgoverning provincial institutions), municipalities, ecclesiastical institutions, and private persons. During the period 1894-1914 the number of pupils increased as follows: in primary schools - 96 per cent; in high schools - 227 per cent; in colleges and universities - 180 per cent. The number of girls attending high schools during the same period increased 420 per cent.

And, speaking in particular of women's education in Czarist Russia, it is important to bear in mind that its foundations were laid by Empress Catherine II in 1764, at a time when in Western Europe schools for girls were practically non-existent. In that year the famous Smolny Institute was founded in St. Petersburg. It was a high school for girls belonging to all classes of Russian society. Since that time, such schools and junior colleges were established in the principal provincial cities (Kharkov, Kiev, Poltava, Odessa, etc.) and, beginning with the Sixties of the XIX Century, (1869) special women's colleges and universities were founded in St. Petersburg and Moscow.

In 1910, the law of universal education was enacted, on the strength of which, the education of all Russian children would have been accomplished by the year 1922. It was due to the havoc wrought upon Russia by the Soviet revolution that even today universal education has not been made a fait accompli in the U.S.S.R., and the general educational

standards, especially at the Russian universities, were dragged to a low level.

In 1913, in Russia, i. e., in a country of over 100 nationalities, 73 per cent of all recruits drafted for military service * were literate. ** This figure may well be compared with the number of illiterates in some states of the United States. Thus, as late as World War II, in the State of Virginia, 947 registrants, or about 10 per cent of those called for induction, failed to meet the minimum educational standards of the American Armed Forces, while illiteracy among the Negro draftees was 20 per cent.

In the year 1930, in England, 22 per cent of recruits were of class D, i. e., "men of inferior education, who can read a very elementary book and write dictation composed of easy words in common use", while 11 per cent were of class E, i. e., "men who fail to reach class D".

Do all these facts vindicate the contention of the Communist propagandists and their Russophobe sympathizers in this country that the Imperial Russian Government exerted its efforts to suppress education in Russia and to keep the people in a state of ignorance?

There is a good maxim: "The true administration of justice is the pillar of good government". With excellent reason could Imperial Russia claim that her system of justice was about the best that has thus far been evolved by mankind; that her reformed courts (November 20, 1864) were absolutely incorruptible; that her jury trials of felonies were the fairest and humanest and, finally, that in no land, with the possible exceptions of England and Switzerland, did the people of all ranks and classes have more respect

for, and confidence in, their judges.

The Criminal and Civil Cassation Departments of the Ruling Senate, which were the courts of last appeal, set an example of dignity and impartiality for the lower courts, and this noble tradition was rigidly adhered to by all court magistrates, from top to bottom.

The Russian judges were appointed by the Emperor for life: they could not be discharged from office otherwise than as a result of a court decision rendered in an open trial. Hence - their independence and strict adherence to the spirit of the law.

On the strength of Art. 740 of the Imperial Code of Criminal Procedure, the Prosecuting Attorney had not only the right, but was in duty bound, to desist from the prosecution if, in the course of the trial, he became convinced of the innocence of the defendant. Threats, or fist shaking by the prosecutor at the defendant in a criminal trial would have been inconceivable in a Russian Imperial Court. Nor was the prosecutor permitted to present to the jury a one-sided version, concealing the facts in favor of the defendant which were revealed at the trial, or exaggerating the weight of evidence produced against the accused.

The Russian Imperial law laid down the humane rule that wherever the jurors, after due deliberation, would be unable to reach an unanimous verdict, and their votes would come to a tie, the opinion in favor of the defendant had to prevail, and his acquittal became mandatory (Art. 813, Code Crim. Proc.)

Only in extraordinary circumstances could an acquittal verdict, rendered by the jury, be reversed, and **non bis in idem** was the basic principle of the administration of criminal justice in Czarist Russia. The same was true of the conviction verdicts, which could not be appealed under flimsy pretexts concocted by the defense for the mere purpose of dragging out a trial **and infinitum**. Nor would prerevolutionary Russian courts have tolerated a deliberate misconduct and disres-

^{*} Universal compulsory conscription for all men of the age of 21 was introduced in Russia in 1874.

^{**} See The Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, Vol. XVIII, p. 776.

pect of the jurors on the part of the defense attorneys. Such exhibition of bad manners, as we have recently witnessed in the seven-month trial of the eleven members of the Politbureau of the American Communist Party, would have been sharply censored by the Barristers' Association itself.

The reformed Imperial courts had been criticized for their leniency toward the defendants. If there was any foundation for such criticism, it was due to the fact that in Imperial Russia there was a deeply imbedded feeling among both, the judges and the jurors, that it is better to acquit ten persons guilty of a crime than to convict one innocent.

Altogether, the administration of justice under the Czars Alexander II, Alexander III, and Nicholas II had attained a high level of integrity and humaneness. In response to the Imperial command: "Truth and Mercy shall reign in the Courts", the Russian judges, with a clear conscience, could proudly say to posterity: "Truth and Mercy did reign in our Courts".

As a tragic contrast to the conditions that had prevailed in Imperial Russia, the Red executioners in the U.S.S.R. have converted their courts into an instrumentality of persecution and torture. The mock trials staged by Stalin; the "confessions" of his political enemies and rivals; their mass executions, have all cast an everlasting shame on that brutal regime which the Western World so hopefully and yet so vainly is seeking to "appease".

The Russophobes on these shores, either maliciously or due to sheer ignorance, are repeating Hitler's historical blunder: under the guise of anti-Communism, they are slandering and insidiously smearing the Russian people who have traditionally shown nothing but sincere friendliness for the United States. The Russian-baiters, on the other hand, be they distinguished generals or obscure newspaper reporters, are deliberately

concealing from the American people that Imperial Russia time and again had given aid and comfort to this country when it had badly needed help and all the moral support it could enlist abroad.

Do the Sulzbergers and the Smiths forget that, when King George III of England had asked Empress Catherine II to send some of her regiments to America to subdue the rebellion of the Colonies against Great Britain, she had declined the request and had replied that "it ill becomes a civilized monarch to crush the efforts of a young nation fighting for its independence." And, it is appropriate to reflect that American history might well have taken a different course at this junction, if indeed the Russia of the Czars had been that "brutal and despotic tyranny", as it so well pleases the Russophobes to claim that it was.

Have the Sulzbergers and tutti quanti forgotten that in 1864 Emperor Alexander II had sent his squadrons to New York and San Francisco to prevent England's intervention in the war between the States?

Have these gentlemen forgotten the great moral support which Emperor Alexander II gave to President Lincoln in his efforts to free the Negro slaves?

Have they forgotten the cession by Imperial Russia of Alaska to the United States, mainly for the purpose of containing England's expansion on the American Continent?

The Russophobes in this country are pursuing a dangerous and myopic policy: instead of drawing a sharp line of distinction between the Communist gang led by the so-called "generalissimo Stafin" on the one hand, and the great Russian Nation on the other, they seek to indoctrinate the notion that these two are one and identical.

Instead of emphasizing Communist expansion and Soviet imperialism, the Russian-baiters are insidiously deceiving their simple-minded listeners by implanting into their heads the idea that

the "cold war" should be directed against the Russian people, and not against their Kremlin oppressors whom, on the contrary, they seek to "appease". This attitude places the whole problem of Communism, which the Western world has to face, into an altogether false perspective. Propaganda of this sort only diverts the attention of the American public from the all-important fact that the enemy is within our gates; that the enemy is not the Russian people, nor the Poles, Rumanians, Czechs, or Hungarians, who are kept subjugated by terror behind the "Iron Curtain", - but our own Hisses, Koplons, Golds, Fuchses, Browders, and Davises, the countless "fronts" "Amerasias" kept on the payroll of, or gratituously giving their service to, Stalin and his criminal clique; that, instead of attacking the Russian people, America should be encouraging them in their efforts to rid themselves of the Communist yoke wrought upon them and ruthlessly enforced by the Kremlin plotters; that the real danger to peace and freedom of the world is not the Russian people, but their arch-enemies, their Red rulers.

If Christian civilization is to be saved, the Russian people, of necessity, must play an important, if not the leading part in the great and last battle between **Christ** - whose image they have miraculously preserved in their hearts, despite the vile and violent Soviet antireligious propaganda - and **Anti-Christ** whom the Communist of all lands are worshipping and whose ardent servants they are.

The choice between the Russian people on the one hand, and international Communism on the other, is now up to the Western world.

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